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FORCE WITHOUT WAR: THE UNITED STATES'
USE OF THE ARMED FORCES AS A POLITICAL
INSTRUMENT

MANUAL

10 Stephen S./Kaplan

11 1977

The Brookings Institution

12 89p.

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OCT 18 1977

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ARPA Order No. 2820, Amendment No. 3

AD No. _____
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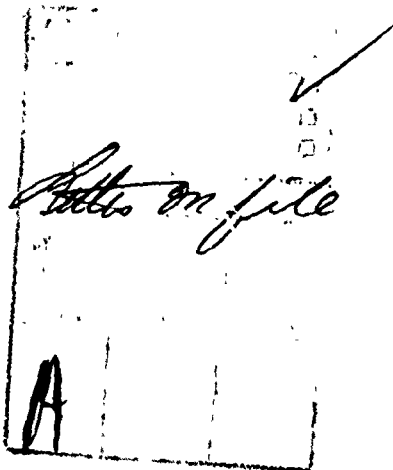
9 Technical Report, 1

406 128

DOCUMENT A
For release
unclassified
6/28

FORCE WITHOUT WAR: MANUAL

ARPA Order No.	2820, Amend. No. 3/29 April 1977
Program Code No.	7W10
Contractor	✓ The Brookings Institution 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
Contract Date	1 July 1977
Contract No.	N00014-77-C-0479 <i>NW</i>
Contract Expiration Date	31 March 1979
Principal Investigator	Dr. Stephen S. Kaplan (202) 797-6000



SUMMARY

↓ In 1976 a study titled The Use of the Armed Forces as a Political Instrument was completed at The Brookings Institution for the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. The study found that between 1 January 1946 and 31 October 1975, U.S. armed forces were used on 215 occasions as a political instrument--i.e., as a means of influencing the decisions of foreign governments. An up-dating of the file in 1977 revealed a total of 226 such actions through 31 December 1976.

This manual is designed to allow other researchers to make use of the data that have been collected on these 226 incidents. It includes an extended definition and discussion of the subject of study, a list of the 226 incidents, a description of the variables for which data were collected for each incident, the full data file, and a listing of sources.

The data file and a control file containing a description of the variables and their values have also been placed on a computer tape. Information is provided about how copies of this computer tape may be obtained. ↑

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PART I

Introduction

Since the Second World War United States armed forces have served political functions in many ways; by their size and character, location abroad, carrying out exercises and visits, and so forth. In 1976 a study of one type of use of U.S. armed forces as a political instrument--the use of discrete military moves to influence particular foreign situations--was completed at The Brookings Institution. 1/ The study was supported by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. One objective of the study was to determine in empirical terms the historical record of those uses of the armed forces that were of interest; that is, to identify the incidents in which the United States used armed forces as a discrete political instrument since the Second World War, the political context of these incidents, the military units employed, and the actions taken by these units.

After a systematic search of sources, 215 incidents meeting explicit definitional criteria were discovered to have taken place between 1 January 1946 and 31 October 1975--an arbitrary cut-off data necessarily imposed on the research. Following the study's completion, the list of 215 incidents was up-dated, with the result that the revised file includes 226 incidents for the period 1 January 1946 - 31 December 1976. United States military actions in these incidents ranged from the visit to a foreign port by a single warship as a specific illustration of U.S. support, to the crisis deployment of major ground, air and naval units against a backdrop including the mobilization of reserves and the placing on alert of strategic nuclear forces. This manual is designed to allow other researchers to make use of the data collected on these 226 incidents.

In some cases it was obvious that a particular use of the armed forces constituted a discrete political-military operation. In many other instances, however, it was not so obvious. Thus one of the first tasks was to define

rigorously the basic concept or subject of the study. Only after definitional criteria were established was it possible to determine whether or not any instance of military activity was to be included as an incident. The definition that was used is presented and elaborated upon in Part II.

A wide variety of sources were examined systematically in order to identify political uses of the armed forces, as defined. Additionally, other sources were examined in order to identify potential situations in which U.S. armed forces might have been used as a political instrument, with the aim of guiding research to uncover additional incidents. It is doubtful that all of the political uses of U.S. armed forces during the period examined were discovered. Reasonable confidence, however, may be held that the list of incidents presented in Part III is virtually complete as regards the information available on an unclassified basis.

This last point deserves amplification. No classified materials were examined in the course of the study. Some documents were declassified, however, upon request. Additionally, a number of organizations within the government were, at least, cooperative. It is of further significance that an analyst undertaking a similar study on a classified basis found a correlation of .89 between the incident list presented in Part III (less those uses of armed forces that were added to the original list of 215 incidents) and a list of incidents which, under the terms of the definition presented in Part II, classified data indicate have taken place. Moreover, the set of incidents presented in Part III are distributed roughly congruently over time with the set of incidents that would be derived from the classified data. 2/

Part IV presents a listing and description of the dimensions--i.e., variables--characterizing each of the 226 incidents for which data were collected. These variables include the dates of the incidents and of initial uses of U.S. armed

forces, contextual characteristics, the types of armed forces used, the movement and activities of these forces, and the types and names of other actors in each incident. In presenting a description of each variable for which data were collected, Part IV also constitutes a codebook for making use of the raw data. The variable and value descriptions are in a form that also allows their convenient use as labels by researchers who might wish to use the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) set of programs to analyze the data file. 3/ Of course, other programs may also be used to examine the data.

The full data file is reproduced in Part V, which also includes a Fortran-type format statement that may allow more convenient use of the data.

Most of the sources examined in compiling the list of incidents presented in Part III fall into the following three categories: official records of military organizations, such as air force, fleet, and division histories; chronologies of international events, such as the quarterly chronology in the Middle East Journal; secondary sources, including various events data files, and compilations of U.S. military activity prepared for other purposes. The full list of sources is presented in Part VI.

Also available for use by interested researchers are copies of a computer tape containing two files, a "control" file and the data file. The control file includes the variable names, descriptions and values presented in Part IV of this manual, and the format statement included in Part V. Together with other information that are also included, the control file may be adapted as an input statement for establishing an SPSS program file. The second file on the computer tape includes the raw data that are reproduced in Part V.

Copies of the computer tape may be obtained by writing to either of the following addresses:

ICPSR
P.O. Box 1248
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Cybernetics Technology Office
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
1400 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Footnotes:

1/ Barry M. Blechman and Stephen S. Kaplan, The Use of Armed Forces As A Political Instrument (Brookings Institution report, 1976), 674 pp; publication under a different title forthcoming in 1978.

2/ See Robert B. Mahoney, Jr., "A Comparison of the Brookings and CNA International Incidents Projects," Center for Naval Analyses, Professional Paper No. 174, February 1977.

3/ Norman H. Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (2d ed; McGraw-Hill, 1975). Those unfamiliar with SPSS may wish to use William R. Klecka et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences: Primer (McGraw-Hill, 1975).

PART II

The Basic Concept

The definition of a political use of the armed forces that was employed in order to determine the occurrence of an incident was as follows:

A political use of the armed forces occurs when physical actions are taken by one or more components of the uniformed military services as part of a deliberate attempt by the national authorities to influence, or to be prepared to influence, specific behavior of individuals in another nation without engaging in a continuing contest of violence.

Thus a political use of the armed forces was inferred to have taken place if five elements were present in a situation.

First, a physical change in the disposition (location, activity, and/or readiness) of at least a part of the armed forces had to occur. Mere references by policy-makers to the military (e.g., verbal threats) were not considered to constitute a use of the armed forces. Aside from a particular interest in examining situations in which the armed forces actually did something, it is nearly impossible to delineate and sort out the purposes of all of the references to the armed forces which have been made by policy-makers over the years. Military activities were taken to include the use of firepower; the establishment or disestablishment of a permanent or temporary presence abroad; a blockade; an interposition; an exercise or other demonstration; the escort or transport of another actor's armed forces or materiel; a visit by a military unit to a foreign location; an evacuation; reconnaissance, patrol, or surveillance operations; or a change in level of readiness. Readiness measures were taken to include changes in alert status, the mobilization or demobilization of reserve forces, and the movement of units toward or away from specific locations.

Second, behind this activity there had to have been a consciousness of purpose. Virtually all military activity has some political consequence. Only in those cases when a specific political impact appeared to be a significant objective of the national command authority--e.g., a member of the National Security Council--did the action qualify for inclusion as an incident.

Third, decision-makers must have sought to attain their objectives by gaining influence in the target states, not by physically imposing their will. Generally speaking, armed forces may be used either as a political or as a martial instrument. When used as a martial instrument, a military unit acts to seize an objective (e.g., occupy territory) or to destroy an objective (e.g., defeat an invading army). In both of these examples, attainment of the immediate objective itself satisfies the purpose for which the force was used. When used as a political instrument, the objective is to influence the behavior of another actor--that is, to cause an actor to do something that he would not otherwise do, or not do something that he would do otherwise. Thus the activity of the armed forces units themselves does not attain the objective; goals are obtained through the effect of the force on the perceptions of the actor. Only instances of force used in this latter fashion were of interest.

Fourth, decision-makers must have sought to avoid a significant contest of violence. Although a war may result from a use of the armed forces that otherwise meets the terms of the definition, the initiation of war must not have been the intent of the action. Of course, even the most intense and protracted war may constitute a political use of the armed forces if the objective is to cause the opponent to capitulate without necessarily totally destroying his capacity to fight. Nevertheless, such large-scale uses of violence were not of interest in this study.

Finally, a specific behavior had to have been desired of another actor. A use of the armed forces had to have been directed at influencing specific behavior in a particular situation or at least to have occurred because of a concern with specific behavior. Many military operations are designed to promote good relations between two nations in a diffuse sense. Annual bilateral or multilateral U.S. armed forces exercises, such as REFORGER in Europe and UNITAS in Latin America, and good will cruises, such as the AMITY visits to African

ports, are examples of this phenomenon. These actions were not included as incidents.

The delimitation of political uses of the armed forces that were of interest may be further clarified by listing the sorts of military activity that were specifically excluded.

- The Korean War and the U.S. involvement in the war in Indochina between March 1965 and March 1972. U.S. armed forces were used in these conflicts primarily as a martial instrument--i.e., to wage war. Objectives were gained or lost as a direct result of the outcome of violent interactions between opposing forces. The symbolic value of the U.S. use of military force, the effect of its use on the perceptions and expectations of decision-makers, was relatively unimportant.

- Uses of U.S. armed forces deployed abroad to defend directly U.S. property, citizens, or military positions. In these incidents components of the armed forces were used in response to immediate threats of violence. Examples would include actions by troops patrolling the Korean demilitarized zone, the use of U.S. Army troops in the Panama Canal Zone to control demonstrations, and incidents at the Guantanamo base in Cuba between Marine sentries and suspected infiltrators. This military activity was not designed to cause foreign policy-makers to terminate the undesirable activity but to terminate it in a direct fashion (e.g., by shooting an infiltrator). In those cases when the United States reinforced a military deployment overseas in response to infiltration or some other hostile activity it was assumed that the symbolic political value of the reinforcement was at least as important as any immediate improvement in military capabilities. Thus incidents of the latter type were considered political uses of the armed forces.

. The psychological reinforcement of previously established behavior through the continuous presence or operation of military forces abroad. While the stationing of U.S. armed forces abroad is certainly a political act and perhaps the most important political function served by U.S. armed forces, such activity helps to maintain previously established behavior rather than to establish new behavioral patterns. Only the initial establishment of an overseas presence, the disestablishment of such a presence, or a significant change in the size of the overseas deployment was included in the list of incidents.

. Routine activity primarily directed at maintaining or improving combat readiness. This category of events includes most training exercises and maneuvers and most visits to foreign ports by U.S. warships. Although there has often been political fallout from these interactions between U.S. military forces and individuals in foreign nations, most routine military actions do not have deliberate political objectives.

. Miscellaneous forms of support provided routinely to foreign governments in nonconflict situations. Examples of these activities include disaster relief, search and rescue operations, and the movement of refugees. Usually these operations do have a political objective but a very diffuse one: to enhance U.S. influence in the recipient nation. Consequently they did not meet the definitional requirement of specificity.

. The provision of military assistance. This activity encompasses an important political dimension, but the factors determining the success or failure of military assistance--which is usually given over a protracted period of time--are likely to be quite different from those affecting the outcomes of discrete political uses of the armed forces.

. Incidents in which noncombatant forces were used to evacuate American citizens from areas of impending conflict. Actually, such incidents are rare, insofar as most instances of evacuation have coincided with the use of combatant

forces. In these latter incidents the primary U.S. purpose usually was not to rescue Americans directly but to cause foreign leaders to stabilize a threatening situation. Cases in which combatant forces were employed are included in the list of incidents.

. The use within the United States of active or reserve military forces to control civil disturbances, to aid in relief efforts following national disasters, and to achieve other objectives. These actions are not related to foreign behavior and thus were of no interest in the study.

Part III

List of Incidents

The sources listed in Part VI indicate that the United States used its armed forces as a political instrument, as defined in Part II, on 226 occasions between 1 January 1946 and 31 December 1976. These incidents are listed below in terms of: the sequence or case number of the incident in the data file; a phrase describing the basic situation that attracted U.S. attention and led to the use of armed forces as a political instrument; the month and year in which the use of armed forces was initiated; the incident's number in the original data file held by the authors of the study.

Certain situations are considered to comprise two or more incidents rather than just one--e.g., the political crises in Lebanon in 1958, in the Congo in 1960-64, and in the Dominican Republic in 1965-66. This approach allows a more useful analysis of instances in which there occurred two or more clear modal uses of U.S. armed forces, or a significant change in the nature of the situation. In many instances the situation of concern occasioned an almost immediate use of armed forces. In other instances, however, a lag of some months occurred.

The incidents list follows:

LIST OF INCIDENTS

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
1. Coup and civil strife in Haiti	Jan. 1946	1
2. Security of Turkey	Mar. 1946	215
3. Political conflict in Greece	Apr. 1946	213
4. Civil war in China	Apr. 1946	272
5. Security of Trieste	Jun. 1946	83
6. Security of Turkey	Aug. 1946	211
7. Insurgents in Greece	Sep. 1946	214
8. Inauguration of Pres. in Chile	Nov. 1946	2
9. U.S. aircraft shot down by Yugoslavia	Nov. 1946	199
10. Political change in Lebanon	Dec. 1946	267
11. Inauguration of Pres. in Uruguay	Feb. 1947	265
12. Civil war in Greece	Apr. 1947	204
13. Cuba support for anti-Trujilloists	May 1947	3
14. Security of Turkey	May 1947	212
15. Security of Trieste	Aug. 1947	84
16. Elections in Italy	Nov. 1947	200
17. Improved relations with Argentina	Jan. 1948	246
18. Security of Berlin	Jan. 1948	274
19. Security of Trieste	Jan. 1948	85
20. Arab-Israel war	Jan. 1948	114
21. Interests in Persian Gulf	Jan. 1948	113
22. Security of Norway	Apr. 1948	255
23. Security of Berlin	Apr. 1948	90
24. Security of Berlin	Jun. 1948	91

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
25. Change of government in China	Dec. 1949	273
26. Political developments in Indochina	Mar. 1950	139
27. France - Viet Minh war	Jun. 1950	141
28. Korean War: Formosa Straits	Jun. 1950	140
29. Korean War: Security of Europe	July 1950	92
30. Political developments in Lebanon	Aug. 1950	115
31. Security of Yugoslavia	Mar. 1951	94
32. Inauguration of Pres. in Liberia	Jan. 1952	268
33. Improved relations with Spain	Jan. 1952	97
34. Security of Turkey	Aug. 1952	263
35. Political developments in Lebanon	Nov. 1952	259
36. China - Taiwan conflict	Feb. 1953	250
37. Soviet aircraft fire on NATO aircraft.	Mar. 1953	96
38. End of war in Korea	July 1953	233
39. Security of Japan/South Korea	Aug. 1953	271
40. France - Viet Minh war: Dienbienphu	Mar. 1954	147
41. Guatemala accepts Soviet bloc suppt.	May 1954	4
42. France - Viet Minh war: Dienbienphu	July 1954	148
43. British airliner shot down by China	July 1954	150
44. China - Taiwan conflict: Tachen Isl.	Aug. 1954	151
45. Election in Honduras	Sep. 1954	5
46. Accord on Trieste	Oct. 1954	252
47. Nicaragua supports insurgents in Costa Rica	Jan. 1955	6
48. Austria State Treaty	Aug. 1955	251
49. China - Taiwan conflict	Jan. 1956	256
50. Egypt - Israel conflict: Red Sea	Feb. 1956	220

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
51. British Gen. Glubb ousted in Jordan	Apr. 1956	118
52. Egypt nationalizes Suez Canal	July 1956	119
53. Suez crisis	Oct. 1956	120
54. Security of U.S. military personnel and bases in Morocco	Oct. 1956	121
55. Egypt - Israel conflict: Red Sea	Feb. 1957	270
56. Political - military crisis in Indonesia	Feb. 1957	75
57. Political - military crisis in Jordan	Apr. 1957	122
58. Civil strife in Taiwan	May 1957	209
59. Coup and civil strife in Haiti	Jun. 1957	7
60. Civil strife and elections in Lebanon	Jun. 1957	257
61. China - Taiwan conflict	July 1957	157
62. Political developments in Syria	Aug. 1957	123
63. Indonesia - Netherlands crisis	Dec. 1957	74
64. Coup and civil strife in Venezuela	Jan. 1958	8
65. Political - military crisis in Indonesia	Feb. 1958	76
66. Political crisis in Lebanon	May 1958	203
67. Security of Vice President Nixon in Venezuela	May 1958	9
68. Americans seized by insurgents in Cuba	July 1958	10
69. Political crisis in Lebanon	July 1958	124
70. Political crisis in Jordan	July 1958	125
71. China - Taiwan crisis: Quemoy & Matsu	July 1958	159
72. Insurgents in Cuba	Oct. 1958	11

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
73. Castro seizes power in Cuba	Jan. 1959	243
74. Cambodia - Thailand crisis	Jan. 1959	160
75. Security of Berlin	Feb. 1959	98
76. Atlantic cables cut	Feb. 1959	99
77. Cuba supports insurgents: Panama	Apr. 1959	12
78. Security of Berlin	May 1959	216
79. China - Taiwan conflict	July 1959	222
80. Civil war in Laos	Aug. 1959	161
81. Cuba supports insurgents: Haiti	Aug. 1959	13
82. Political developments in Cuba	Nov. 1959	15
83. Improved relations with Indonesia	Nov. 1959	260
84. Anti-Castro insurgents overfly Cuba	Feb. 1960	22
85. Unidentified submarine off Argentina	Feb. 1960	19
86. Insurgents in Cuba	Apr. 1960	16
87. Political - military crisis in Congo	July 1960	61
88. Political developments in Cuba	Aug. 1960	21
89. Coup and civil war in Laos	Aug. 1960	248
90. Civil war in the Congo	Sep. 1960	202
91. Cuba supports insurgents: Guatemala/Nicaragua	Nov. 1960	17
92. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba	Dec. 1960	20
93. Improved relations with Iraq	Dec. 1960	269
94. Insurgents seize Portuguese ship <u>Santa Maria</u>	Jan. 1961	18
95. Civil war in Congo	Jan. 1961	68
96. Civil war in Laos	Feb. 1961	163
97. U.S. ship <u>Western Union</u> seized by Cuba	Mar. 1961	23

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
98. Bay of Pigs	Apr. 1961	24
99. Trujillo assassinated in Dominican Republic	Jun. 1961	25
100. Unidentified submarine off Ecuador	Jun. 1961	26
101. Elections and civil strife in Zanzibar	Jun. 1961	62
102. Security of Berlin	Jun. 1961	102
103. Security of Kuwait	July 1961	127
104. Trujillos refuse to leave Dominican Republic	Nov. 1961	27
105. Civil war in So. Vietnam	Dec. 1961	164
106. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba	Jan. 1962	225
107. Civil war in So. Vietnam	Feb. 1962	165
108. Civil strife in Guatemala	Mar. 1962	28
109. Hostile Soviet Naval activity in the Baltic Sea	May 1962	244
110. Civil war in Laos	May 1962	167
111. Improved relations with Iceland	Jun. 1962	240
112. China - Taiwan conflict	Jun. 1962	168
113. Political developments in Haiti	Aug. 1962	30
114. Soviet emplacement of missiles in Cuba	Oct. 1962	31
115. China - India war	Oct. 1962	78
116. Political instability in Guatemala	Dec. 1962	29
117. Inauguration of President in Dominican Republic	Feb. 1963	275
118. Insurgents seize Venezuelan merchantman <u>Anzoátegui</u>	Feb. 1963	33

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
119. Civil war in Yemen	Feb. 1963	129
120. Dom. Rep. - Haiti conflict	Apr. 1963	34
121. Withdrawal of missiles from Turkey	Apr. 1963	103
122. Political crisis in Jordan	Apr. 1963	130
123. Civil war in Laos	Apr. 1963	170
124. Civil war in Laos	May 1963	236
125. Buddhist crisis in So. Vietnam	Jun. 1963	173
126. Dom. Rep. - Haiti conflict	Aug. 1963	35
127. Coup in Dominican Republic	Sep. 1963	36
128. China - Taiwan crisis	Sep. 1963	174
129. Security of Berlin	Oct. 1963	104
130. Indonesia - Malaysia conflict	Nov. 1963	224
131. Cuba supports insurgents: Venezuela	Nov. 1963	266
132. Improved relations with Israel	Nov. 1963	276
133. Assassination of Diem in South Vietnam	Nov. 1963	175
134. Improved relations with Soviet Union	Dec. 1963	241
135. Cuba supports insurgents: Mexico	Jan. 1964	41
136. Security of Panama Canal Zone	Jan. 1964	37
137. Coup and civil strife in Zanzibar	Jan. 1964	63
138. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis	Jan. 1964	105
139. Coup in South Vietnam	Jan. 1964	177
140. Coup in Brazil	Mar. 1964	38
141. Political developments in Cambodia	Mar. 1964	178
142. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba	Apr. 1964	221

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
143. Civil war in Laos	Apr. 1964	179
144. Elections in Panama	May 1964	39
145. Civil strife in British Guiana	May 1964	228
146. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis	Jun. 1964	226
147. Cuba supports insurgents: Dominican Republic	July 1964	44
148. Civil war in Congo	Aug. 1964	65
149. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis	Aug. 1964	106
150. Insurgents in Haiti	Aug. 1964	42
151. No. Vietnam fires on U.S. ships: Tonkin Gulf	Aug. 1964	180
152. Indonesia - Malaysia crisis	Sep. 1964	79
153. Cuba supports insurgents: Venezuela	Oct. 1964	43
154. Civil war in the Congo: Hostages in Stanleyville	Nov. 1964	66
155. Viet Cong attack Bien Hoa barracks in South Vietnam	Nov. 1964	182
156. Worsened relations with Tanzania	Jan. 1965	67
157. Viet Cong attack Pleiku air base in South Vietnam	Feb. 1965	184
158. Viet Cong attack Qui Nhon barracks in South Vietnam	Feb. 1965	185
159. Civil war in Dominican Republic	Apr. 1965	47
160. Cuba supports insurgents: British Guiana	Apr. 1965	46
161. West German parliament meets in Berlin	Apr. 1965	107
162. Cuba supports insurgents: Venezuela	May 1965	279
163. War in Vietnam: Withdrawal of troops from Europe	July 1965	258

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
164. Political developments in Cyprus	July 1965	230
165. Civil war in Yemen	Aug. 1965	229
166. Civil war in Dominican Republic	Sep. 1965	201
167. India-Pakistan war	Sep. 1965	80
168. Attempted coup in Indonesia	Oct. 1965	278
169. Improved relations with Egypt	Sep. 1966	242
170. Israel attacks Jordan: Samu	Dec. 1966	131
171. Insurgents in Thailand	Dec. 1966	188
172. Coup in Greece	Apr. 1967	231
173. Improved relations with France	May 1967	239
174. Arab-Israel war	May 1967	132
175. Insurgents in the Congo	July 1967	70
176. Political developments in Cyprus	Aug. 1967	232
177. Egypt sinks Israeli destroyer <u>Eilat</u>	Oct. 1967	108
178. <u>Pueblo</u> seized by North Korea	Jan. 1968	189
179. Invasion of Czechoslovakia	Sep. 1968	109
180. Israel attacks Lebanon: Beirut Airport	Dec. 1968	253
181. North Korea attacks South Korean fishing boats	Dec. 1968	190
182. EC-121 shot down by No. Korea	Apr. 1969	191
183. Civil strife in Curacao	May 1969	53
184. Political developments in Libya	Nov. 1969	280
185. Insurgents in Haiti	Apr. 1970	237
186. Civil strife in Trinidad	Apr. 1970	55

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
187. Civil strife in Jordan	Jun. 1970	235
188. Arab-Israel ceasefire agreement	Aug. 1970	227
189. Civil war in Jordan	Sep. 1970	134
190. Soviet submarine base in Cuba	Oct. 1970	56
191. Civil war in Cambodia	Jan. 1971	238
192. Withdrawal of troops from So. Korea	Feb. 1971	254
193. Duvalier dies in Haiti	Apr. 1971	57
194. Improved relations with Soviet Union	Apr. 1971	247
195. Standown in Sea of Japan	May 1971	249
196. India-Pakistan (Bangladesh) war	Dec. 1971	82
197. Seizure of merchantmen by Cuba	Dec. 1971	58
198. North Vietnam offensive in South Vietnam	May 1972	186
199. Breakdown in peace talks with North Vietnam	Dec. 1972	219
200. Civil war in Laos	Feb. 1973	194
201. Civil war in Cambodia	Feb. 1973	262
202. Peace agreement with No. Vietnam	Feb. 1973	193
203. Civil strife in Lebanon	May 1973	277
204. Civil war in Cambodia	Aug. 1973	261
205. Arab-Israel war	Oct. 1973	135
206. Arab oil embargo	Oct. 1973	217
207. Civil war in Cambodia	Jan. 1974	234
208. Egypt-Israel Sinai agreement	Feb. 1974	136
209. Improved relations with Egypt	Apr. 1974	137
210. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis	July 1974	111
211. Arab oil policy	Nov. 1974	218

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year U.S. Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
212. Attack on U.S. property in Cyprus ¹	Jan. 1975	281
213. Civil war in Ethiopia ¹	Feb. 1975	282
214. Improved relations with Kenya ¹	Feb. 1975	283
215. Collapse of regime in Cambodia	Feb. 1975	187
216. Collapse of regime in South Vietnam	Mar. 1975	195
217. Improved relations with Soviet Union	May 1975	245
218. Cambodia seizes U.S. merchantman <u>Mayaguez</u>	May 1975	196
219. Civil war in Lebanon ¹	Jan. 1976	284
220. Civil war in Lebanon ¹	Mar. 1976	285
221. Security of Yugoslavia ¹	Mar. 1976	286
222. Security of Israel ¹	Apr. 1976	287
223. Civil war in Lebanon ¹	Jun. 1976	288
224. Kenya-Uganda conflict ¹	July 1976	289
225. U.S. officers murdered in Korea DMZ ¹	Aug. 1976	290
226. Independence Day holiday in Kenya ¹	Dec. 1976	291

¹/ Incident added to the original file of 215 incidents.

PART IV

Description of Variables

This part of the manual presents the "codebook" and other information that are necessary for accessing and interpreting the data file that is reproduced in Part V. The data for each case are distributed over four lines (cards), the full file comprising a total of 904 lines (226 incidents x 4 lines = 904 lines). Thus the data related to Incident 1 (Coups and civil strife in Haiti - January 1946, as listed in Part III) are presented in lines one through four of the data file, the data pertaining to Incident 2 (Security of Turkey - March 1946) appear on lines five through eight, and so forth.

The data file describes each of the 226 cases in which the United States used armed forces as a political instrument, as defined in Part II, in terms of 207 variables. For the purpose of this presentation, these variables are divided into seven sub-groups, as follows: A) incident identification numbers and dates; B) contextual characteristics of the incident; C) the types and sizes of U.S. armed forces units used in the incident; D) the movement and readiness status of U.S. armed forces used in the incident; E) the activities of U.S. armed forces used in the incident; F) the number and types of actors in the incident besides the United States; G) U.S. public opinion of the President before and after the incident, as surveyed by the Gallup Poll.

Each variable is presented in the following pages in terms of a name, description and values, and its location in the data file. The order in which the variables are presented is the same as the order in which they appear in the data file. A Fortran-type format statement is included in Part V.

The letters of the variable and value descriptions in the following pages that are capitalized conform to SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) variable label and value label size requirements. Information presented in lower case letters and parentheses elaborates on these descriptive labels, which in some instances are too abbreviated to provide a full understanding of the variable. The

example on the next page will further clarify the format of the presentation in the pages following.

Preceding the data file on the computer tape is a control file that includes the material presented in sections A through G below in a form that might allow the control file to be adapted as a program for the creation of an SPSS file. Of course, other programs may also be used to analyze the data, and this control file may be ignored.

CARD 1 ← line (card) number where variable is denoted within each case

column(s) in line (card) where variable is denoted

29

SUPRCFOR

USSR OR PRC USE OF MILITARY FORCE

(use of military force by Soviet Union or Peoples Republic of China)

suggested variable name

variable description and suggested SPSS variable label

elaboration of variable description

Values

Labels

1

USED FORCE INIT (incident initiated in conjunction with USSR or PRC use of force)

2

THREAT FORCE INIT (incident initiated in conjunction with USSR OR PRC threat to use force)

3

USED AF INC BEGAN (USSR or PRC used military force only after incident began)

4

THREAT AF INC BEGAN (USSR or PRC threatened to use military force only after incident began)

5

NO USE OR THREAT (no USSR or PRC use or threat to use military force in conjunction with incident)

8

DK IF THREAT (USSR and PRC did not use military force in conjunction with incident, but don't know if a threat to do so was made)

data code number

value description and suggested SPSS value label

elaboration of value description

Card 1

A. Incident identification numbers and dates (for the variables listed in this section, a value of zero indicates that datum was unavailable).

1-3	CASNUM	INCIDENT SEQUENCE NUMBER IN DATA FILE Values: 1-226; no labels.
4-6	INCIDNUM	BROOKINGS INCIDENT FILE NUMBER Values: 1-291; no labels.
7-8	MONTHBEG	MONTH INCIDENT BEGAN (relevant political context) Values: 1-12, corresponding with months of year; labels, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH,...DECEMBER.
9-10	DAYBEG	DATE INCIDENT BEGAN (relevant political context) Values: 1-31, corresponding with first to last possible date in month during which incident began; no labels.
11-12	YEARBEG	YEAR INCIDENT BEGAN (relevant political context) Values: 46-76, corresponding with calendar years; labels, 1946, 1947, 1948,...1976.
13-15	NUMDAYS	NUMBER OF DAYS OF INCIDENT (duration of relevant political context) Values: 1-999, corresponding with number of days between beginning and end of incident; no labels.
16-17	FOMOBEG	MONTH US ARMED FORCES FIRST USED (first alert, movement, or action related to incident) Values: 1-12, corresponding with months of year; labels, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH,...DECEMBER.
18-19	FODABEG	DATE US ARMED FORCES FIRST USED (first alert, movement, or action related to incident) Values: 1-31, corresponding with first to last possible date in month during which U.S. forces were first used; no labels.
20-21	FOYRBEG	YEAR US ARMED FORCES FIRST USED (first alert, movement, or action related to incident) Values: 46-76, corresponding with calendar years; labels, 1946, 1947, 1948,...1976.
22-24	FONUDAYS	NUMBER OF DAYS US ARMED FORCES USED (duration of use of armed forces in relation to incident) Values: 1-999, corresponding with number of days between beginning and end of use of armed forces; no labels.

Card 1

B. Contextual characteristics of the incident

25-26

REGION REGION WHERE US FORCES WERE FIRST USED

Values

Labels

- 1 CEN AMER-CARIBBEAN (Central America - Caribbean; includes Mexico and Venezuela)
- 2 SOUTH AMERICA (excludes Venezuela)
- 3 ATLANTIC OCEAN
- 4 EUROPE (includes Cyprus, Iceland, Soviet Union and Turkey)
- 5 N. AFRICA-MIDEAST (North Africa-Middle East; includes Iran and Sudan)
- 6 SUB-SAH AFRICA (Sub-Sahara Africa)
- 7 SOUTH ASIA (includes Afghanistan and Burma)
- 8 SO'EAST ASIA (Southeast Asia; includes Indonesia, Malaysia, and Oceania)
- 9 E. ASIA-PACIFIC (East Asia-Pacific; includes Philippines)

27-28

SITUATION SITUATION PRECEDING U.S. USE OF FORCE

Values

Labels

- 1 INTERST CONFL CONT (continuing violence between nations other than U.S.)
- 2 INTERST CONFL SPOR (sporadic violence between nations other than U.S.)
- 3 INTERST RELS UNFRND (unfriendly but non-violent relations between nations other than U.S.)
- 4 INTERST RELS FRNDLY (friendly or correct relations between nations other than U.S.)
- 5 EXT SUP INSURGENCY (externally supported insurgency in a nation)
- 6 INTERNAL CONFLICT (major violence within a nation; includes non-externally supported insurgencies, civil wars, etc.)

Card 1

- 7 INTERNAL TURMOIL (civil strife within a nation)
- 8 COUP (recent overthrow or attempt to overthrow government, excluding insurgency, civil war, etc.)
- 9 CON CHNG IN GOVT (impending or recent constitutional change in government)
- 10 OTHER INTERNAL (situation of an intra-state nature not included in above categories)
- 11 HOST POL AG US (hostile political initiative taken against U.S. directly or indirectly)
- 12 GOVT ATK US C-P (government supported attack or threat directed at U.S. citizens or property)
- 13 OTHR ATK US C-P (non-government supported attack or threat directed at U.S. citizens or property)
- 14 ATTK ON USMILFO (attack or threat directed at U.S. armed forces or military bases abroad)
- 15 US-OTHR RELS UNFRND (unfriendly relations between U.S. and an actor)
- 16 US-OTHR RELS FRND (friendly relations between U.S. and an actor)
- 29 SUPRCFOR USSR OR PRC USE OF MILITARY FORCE (use of military force by Soviet Union or Peoples Republic of China)

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
1	USED FORCE INIT (incident initiated in conjunction with USSR or PRC use of force)
2	THREAT FORCE INIT (incident initiated in conjunction with USSR or PRC threat to use force)
3	USED AF INC BEGAN (USSR or PRC used military force only after incident began)
4	THREAT AF INC BEGAN (USSR or PRC threatened to use military force only after incident began)
5	NO USE OR THREAT (no USSR or PRC use or threat to use military force in conjunction with incident)

Card 1

8 DK IF THREAT (USSR and PRC did not use military force in conjunction with incident, but don't know if a threat to do so was made)

30 CHSZFORP US DEPLOY CHANGE IN PREV 2 YEARS (overall change in number of U.S. armed forces personnel deployed in theater where incident occurred during two years prior to use of force)

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
1	UP 20 PCT OR MORE (increased by at least 20 percent)
2	UP 10-19.9 PCT (increased by 10-19.9 percent)
3	UP-DN 0-9.9 PCT (increased or decreased by less than 10 percent)
4	DN 10-19.9 PCT (decreased by 10-19.9 percent)
5	DN 20 PCT OR MORE (decreased by at least 20 percent)
6	NO PRIOR DEPLOY (no U.S. deployment regularly maintained in theater previous to incident)
9	DON'T KNOW

31 USSTST US DEPLOY IN AREA YEAR AFTER INCIDENT (overall change in number of U.S. armed forces personnel deployed in theater where incident occurred during year after end of incident)

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
1	UP 20 PCT OR MORE (increased by at least 20 percent)
2	UP 10-19.9 PCT (increased by 10-19.9 percent)
3	UP-DN 0-9.9 PCT (increased or decreased by less than 10 percent)
4	DN 10-19.9 PCT (decreased by 10-19.9 percent)
5	DN 20 PCT OR MORE (decreased by at least 20 percent)
6	NO DEPLOY BEF-AF (no U.S. force deployment regularly maintained in theater before and after incident)
9	DON'T KNOW

Card 1

C. Types and sizes of United States armed forces units used in the incident.

32 STNUC USE OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR (capable) FORCES ¹

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
---------------	---------------

0	NOT USED
---	----------

1	USED
---	------

33 ARMSIZ TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF ARMY GROUND FORCE ²

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
---------------	---------------

0	NONE (none used)
---	------------------

1	UP TO A COMPANY (no more than one company)
---	--------------------------------------------

2	COM PLS TO BAT (more than one company, but no more than one battalion)
---	------------------------------------------------------------------------

3	BAT PLS TO BRIG (more than one battalion, but no more than one brigade)
---	-------------------------------------------------------------------------

4	BRIG PLS TO DIV (more than one brigade, but no more than one division)
---	------------------------------------------------------------------------

5	MOR THAN DIV (more than one division)
---	---------------------------------------

8	USED-DK SIZE (troops used, but don't know total unit size)
---	------------------------------------------------------------

9	DK IF USED (don't know if troops used)
---	----------------------------------------

34 MARSIZ TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF MARINE GROUND FORCE ²
(includes units on board amphibious ships)
Values and labels same as for ARMSIZ

35 GRFOAIRL TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF GROUND FORCE AIRL(ifted) ²

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
---------------	---------------

0	NONE (no airlift of troops)
---	-----------------------------

1	UP TO A COMPANY (no more than one company)
---	--------------------------------------------

2	COM PLS TO BRIG (more than one company, but no more than one brigade)
---	-----------------------------------------------------------------------

Card 1

	3	MOR THAN BRIG (more than one brigade)
	8	AIRLIFT-DK SIZE (troops airlifted, but don't know total unit size)
	9	DK IF AIRLIFT (don't know if troops airlifted)
36	BBNUM	NUMBER OF BATTLESHIPS ²
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	ONE
	2	TWO
	3	THREE
	4	FOUR
	5	FIVE
	6	SIX
	7	MOR(e) THAN SIX
	8	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER
	9	DK (don't know) IF USED
37	CVNUM	NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT CARRIERS ² Values and labels same as for BBNUM
38	AMPHTYP	USE OF AMPHIBIOUS SHIPS ²
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO AMPHB USED (no use of amphibious ships)
	1	LPH, LHA OR LPD (Landing Platform Helicopter, Landing Helicopter Assault, or Landing Platform Dock ship used)
	2	OTHER AMPHB ONLY (amphibious ship used, but not LPH, LHA or LPD)
	8	USED-DK (don't know) TYPE
	9	DK (don't know) IF USED

Card 1

39 SRFCCOM NUMBER OTHER MAJOR SURFACE WARSHIPS ²
 (includes cruiser, destroyer, frigate and escort
 type ships)

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>	
0	NONE (no other major surface combatants used)	
1	ONE	battleships, aircraft carriers, and amphibious ships not used in incident
2	TWO	
3	THREE	
4	FOUR	
5	FIVE	
6	MOR(e) THAN FIVE	
7	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER	
8	USED W BB CV AMP (assumed to have been present when a battleship, aircraft carrier, or amphibious ship was used)	
9	DK (don't know) IF USED	

40 SUBNUM NUMBER OF SUBMARINES ²
 Values and labels same as for BBNUM

41 OTHSHIPS NUMBER OF OTHER TYPES OF SHIPS (types mentioned above
 not present) ²

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
0	NA OR NONE (not applicable or none used)
1	ONE
2	TWO
3	THREE
4	FOUR
5	FIVE
6	MOR(e) THAN FIVE
7	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER

Card 1

	8	USED-DK NUM-TYPE (ship used, but don't know number or type)
	9	DK IF USED (don't know if any or other types of ships used)
42	AFCOMAIR	TOTAL UNIT SIZE AIR FORCE COMBAT AIRCR(aft) ²
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	LE THAN SQUADRON (less than one squadron)
	2	SQUAD TO LE WING (squadron or larger, but less than one wing)
	3	WING OR LARGER
	8	USED-DK (don't know) SIZE
	9	DK (don't know) IF USED
43	MACOMAIR	TOTAL UNIT SIZE MARINE COMBAT AIRCRAFT ² Values and labels same as for AFCOMAIR
44	TRANSAIR	TOTAL UNIT SIZE TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT ² Values and labels same as for AFCOMAIR
45	HELOTRAN	TOTAL UNIT SIZE TRANSPORT HELICOPTERS ² (helicopters able to transport ground troops)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	LE SQUAD-COMPANY (less than one helicopter squadron or company)
	2	SQUAD-COMPANY GE (at least one helicopter squadron or company)
	8	USED-DK (don't know) SIZE
	9	DK (don't know) IF USED

Card 1

46	RECOMAPA	USE OF FIXED WING RECON-PATROL AIRCR (land-based fixed wing reconnaissance or patrol aircraft)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	USED
	9	DK (don't know) IF USED
47	OTHAIR	UNKNOWN TYPE OF AIRCRAFT USED Values and labels same as for RECOMAPA
48-51	NUMRESVS	NUMBER OF RESERVES MOBILIZED-000's Values: 1-9999 (multiply by 1,000 to obtain number of reserve personnel mobilized); no labels.
52	ARMEDF	COMPOSITE SIZE OF FORCES USED ³
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	1	2-3 MAJ PLS NUC (two or three major force components and strategic nuclear-capable units)
	2	2-3 MAJ NO NUC (two or three major force components, but no strategic nuclear-capable units)
	3	ONE MAJ OR NUC (one major force component or strategic nuclear-capable unit)
	4	UP TO STANDARD (one or more "standard" components--i.e., more than a "minor" force unit, but less than one major force component; no strategic nuclear-capable units used)
	5	MINOR ONLY

Card 1

D. Movement and readiness of United States armed forces used in the incident ⁴

The following values and labels apply to each of the activities listed below:

	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
	9	DON'T KNOW
53	MOBILIZ	FORCES MOBILIZED (reserve units mobilized)
54	INTERFOR	FORCES DEPLOY FORWARD BETWEEN THEATERS (forces outside theater where incident occurred deployed into that theater)
55	INTERER	FORCES DEPLOY REARWARD BETWEEN THEATERS (forces inside theater where incident occurred withdrawn from that theater)
56	INTERALI	OUT OF THEATER ALERT LEVEL INCREASED (increase in level of alert of forces outside of theater where incident occurred; scored zero if INTERFOR was scored one)
57	INTRAFOR	IN THEATER FORCES DEPLOY FORWARD (forces already in theater deployed toward location of incident)
58	INTRARER	IN THEATER FORCES DEPLOY REARWARD (forces inside theater at or close to location of incident deployed away from that location)
59	INTRAALI	IN THEATER FORCES ALERT LEVEL INCREASED (level of alert increased of forces within theater where incident occurred; scored zero if INTRAFOR was scored one)
60	PLWTHDDE	PLANNED WITHDRAWAL DELAYED (of forces at or close to location of incident)

Card 1

E. Activities of United States armed forces used in the incident ⁵

The following values and labels apply to each of the activities listed below:

	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
	9	DON'T KNOW
61	PRESENCE	FORCES MADE PRESENT IN OR NEAR AREA (appearance of U.S. forces at or near location of incident; these forces did not engage in another activity)
62	FIPOVIOL	FIREPOWER USED OR OTHER VIOLENT ACTION
63	GRFOEMPL	EMPLACEMENT OF GROUND FORCES (in foreign nation)
64	BLOCKADE	EST(ablishment) OF SELECTIVE OR COMPLETE BLOCKADE
65	INTERPOS	INTERPOSITION BETWEEN TWO (foreign) ACTORS
66	TRANSIT	EXERCISE OF RIGHT OF TRANSIT
67	EXDEMO	EXERCISE OR DEMONSTRATION
68	ESCORT	ESCORT (foreign) ACTOR FORCES, EQUIP(ment) OR OPERATIVES
69	TROFTAR	TRANSP(ort foreign) ACTOR FORCES, EQUIP(ment) OR OPERATIVES
70	TRTOTAR	TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT TO AN (foreign) ACTOR
71	PARESUR	PATROL, RECON(naissance) OR SURVEILLANCE (as a primary activity)
72	VISIT	VISIT TO FOREIGN NATION
73	EVACUATE	EVACUATION
74	OTHERAC	OTHER ACTIVITY

Card 2

F. Number and types of actors in the incident besides United States ⁶

1-2 NUMACTRS NUMBER (of) PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN INCIDENT (including U.S.)

Values: 1-10; no labels.

Types of foreign actors

The following values and labels apply to each of the types of foreign actors listed below:

	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
3	NATO	NATO STATE (member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
4	OAS	OAS-RIO-CHAPULTEPEC STATE (member of Organization of American States, or signatory of Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947 or Act of Chapultepec of 1945)
5	SEATOT	PAKISTAN OR THAILAND (Southeast Asian members of SEATO; Philippines not an actor in any incident)
6	SEATOP	S. VIET(nam), LAOS OR CAMBODIA (states referred to in SEATO Treaty Protocol)
7	USTREATY	US BILATERAL DEF TRT STATE (state with which the United States had signed a bilateral mutual defense treaty)
8	USALCL	OTHER U.S. ALLY OR CLIENT (U.S. ally or client other than one that would be included in above categories)
9	PRC	PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA
10	USSR	SOVIET UNION
11	WTO	WARSAW TREATY STATE (member of Warsaw Treaty Organization other than Soviet Union)
12	COMMSTAT	OTHER COMMUNIST STATE (Communist state other than China or members of WTO)
13	SOVALCL	OTHER SOVIET ALLY OR CLIENT (Soviet ally or client which would not be included in above categories)

Card 2

- | | | |
|----|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14 | OTHST | OTHER STATE (state that would not be included in any one of above categories) |
| 15 | UNOAS | UNITED NATIONS OR OAS ORGANIZ (UN or OAS organization was itself an actor) |
| 16 | OTHORG | OTHER ORGANIZATION OR GROUP (actor other than one that would be included in any one of above categories) |

Individual actors in incident besides United States

The following values and labels apply to each of the actors listed below:

	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
17	ARG	ARGENTINA
18	AUS	AUSTRIA
19	BEL	BELGIUM
20	BRA	BRAZIL
21	CAM	CAMBODIA
22	CHL	CHILE
23	CHN	PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA (same as PRC, as listed above under "types of foreign actors")
24	CHT	TAIWAN-REP OF CHINA
25	COP	ZAIRE-CONGO
26	COR	COSTA RICA
27	CUB	CUBA
28	CYG	GOVT OR GREEK COMM ON CYPRUS (Government or Greek community on Cyprus)
29	CYT	TURKISH COMMUNITY ON CYPRUS
30	DOM	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
31	ECU	ECUADOR
32	EGY	EGYPT

Card 2

33	ETH	ETHIOPIA
34	FRN	FRANCE
35	GME	EAST GERMANY
36	GMW	WEST GERMANY
37	GRC	GREECE
38	GUA	GUATEMALA
39	HAI	HAITI
40	HON	HONDURAS
41	ICE	ICELAND
42	IND	INDIA
43	INS	INDONESIA
44	IRN	IRAN
45	IRQ	IRAQ
46	ISR	ISRAEL
47	ITA	ITALY
48	JAP	JAPAN
49	JOR	JORDAN
50	KEN	KENYA
51	KON	NORTH KOREA
52	KOS	SOUTH KOREA
53	KUW	KUWAIT
54	LAO	LAOS
55	LEB	LEBANON
56	LBR	LIBERIA
57	LBY	LIBYA
58	MAL	MALAYSIA
59	MEX	MEXICO

Card 2

60	MOR	MOROCCO
61	NIC	NICARAGUA
62	NOR	NORWAY
63	NTH	NETHERLANDS
64	PAK	PAKISTAN
65	PAN	PANAMA
66	POR	PORTUGAL
67	RUM	RUMANIA
68	SAU	SAUDI ARABIA
69	SPN	SPAIN
70	SYR	SYRIA
71	TAI	THAILAND
72	TAZ	TANZANIA-TANGANYIKA
73	TRI	TRINIDAD-TOBAGO
74	TUR	TURKEY
75	UGA	UGANDA
76	UNK	UNITED KINGDOM
77	URU	URUGUAY

Card 3

1	USR	SOVIET UNION (same as USSR, as listed above under "types of foreign actors")
2	VEN	VENEZUELA
3	VTN	NORTH VIETNAM
4	VTS	SOUTH VIETNAM
5	YEM	YEMEN
6	YUG	YUGOSLAVIA
7	ZAN	ZANZIBAR

Card 3

8	BANI	E. PAKISTAN-BENGALI INSURGENTS
9	CAMI	CAMBODIA INSURGENTS
10	COPI	ZAIRE-CONGO INSURGENTS
11	COSI	COSTA RICA INSURGENTS
12	CUBI	CUBA INSURGENTS
13	DOMI	DOMINICAN REP INSURGENTS
14	ETHI	ETHIOPIA INSURGENTS
15	GRCI	GREECE INSURGENTS
16	GUAI	GUATEMALA INSURGENTS
17	HAII	HAITI INSURGENTS
18	INSI	INDONESIA INSURGENTS
19	LAOI	LAOS INSURGENTS
20	LEBI	LEBANON INSURGENTS
21	MEXI	MEXICO INSURGENTS
22	NICI	NICARAGUA INSURGENTS
23	NLFI	S. VIETNAM INSURGENTS
24	PALI	PALESTINIAN INSURGENTS
25	PANI	PANAMA INSURGENTS
26	PORI	PORTUGAL INSURGENTS
27	TAII	THAILAND INSURGENTS
28	VENI	VENEZUELA INSURGENTS
29	VIEI	VIET-MINH VIETNAM INSURGENTS
30	YEMI	YEMEN INSURGENTS
31	CHLM	CHILE MILITARY
32	DOMM	DOMINICAN REP MILITARY (this variable is also assigned the value of 2 (label: TWO SEGMENTS), denoting the participation of two major military factions in an incident)

Card 3

33	GRCM	GREECE MILITARY
34	GUAM	GUATEMALA MILITARY
35	HAIM	HAITI MILITARY
36	INSM	INDONESIA MILITARY
37	JORM	JORDAN MILITARY
38	LAOM	LAOS MILITARY
39	LEBM	LEBANON MILITARY
40	SYRM	SYRIA MILITARY
41	TRIM	TRINIDAD-TOBAGO MILITARY
42	VENM	VENEZUELA MILITARY
43	VTSM	S. VIETNAM MILITARY
44	GUYL	GUYANA POLITICAL OPPOSITION
45	ITAL	ITALY POLITICAL OPPOSITION
46	JORL	JORDAN POLITICAL OPPOSITION
47	LAOL	LAOS POLITICAL OPPOSITION
48	LEBL	LEBANON POLITICAL OPPOSITION
49	VTSL	S. VIETNAM POL(itical) OPPOSITION
50	CHTD	TAIWAN DEMONSTRATORS
51	CYPD	CYPRUS DEMONSTRATORS
52	LEBD	LEBANON DEMONSTRATORS
53	PAND	PANAMA DEMONSTRATORS
54	ARL	ARAB LEAGUE
55	NATG	NATO ORGANIZATION
56	OAP	ORGANIZ ARAB PETRO EXPORTERS (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries)
57	OASO	ORGANIZ(ation of) AMERICAN STATES
58	UNO	UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION
59	WAR	WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION

Card 4

G. Public approval of the President as surveyed by the Gallup Poll (within two months before or after U.S. use of force; for the variables in this section, a value of zero indicates datum was unavailable, except as noted)

1-2	POPRAPPR	PCT NAT APPROVE PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who approved President's general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
3-4	POPRDISA	PCT NAT DISAPPROV PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who disapproved President's general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
5-6	POPRNOOP	PCT NAT NO OPIN PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who expressed no opinion about President's general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
7-9	POPRDABE	DAYS BET PRIOR NAT POLL - USE FORCE Values: 1-62, corresponding with number of days between last national poll before use of force and use of force; no labels.
10-11	POAFAPPR	PCT NAT APPROVE PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who approved President's general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
12-13	POAFDISA	PCT NAT DISAPPROV PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who disapproved President's general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
14-15	POAFNOOP	PCT NAT NO OPIN PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in national poll who expressed no opinion about President's general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
16-18	POAFDABE	DAYS BET END USE FORCE - NEXT NAT POLL Values: 1-62, corresponding with number of days between end of use of force and next national poll; no labels.

Card 4

19-20	PARPRAPP	PCT PAR APPROVE PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who approved his general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
21-22	PARPRDIS	PCT PAR DISAPPROV PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who disapproved his general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
23-24	PARPRNOP	PCT PAR NO OPIN PRES BEFORE USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who expressed no opinion about his general performance in last poll prior to use of force; no labels.
25-27	PARPRDAB	DAYS BET PRIOR PAR POLL - USE FORCE Values: 1-62, corresponding with number of days between last party poll before use of force and use of force; no labels.
28-29	PARAFAPP	PCT PAR APPROVE PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who approved his general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
30-31	PARAFDIS	PCT PAR DISAPPROV PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who disapproved his general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
32-33	PARAFNOP	PCT PAR NO OPIN PRES AFTER USE FORCE Values: 1-99, corresponding with percent in President's party who expressed no opinion about his general performance in first poll after use of force ended; no labels.
34-36	PARAFDAB	DAYS BET END USE FORCE - NEXT PAR POLL Values: 1-62, corresponding with number of days between end of use of force and next party poll; no labels.

Card 4

37-42

NYTLINES

NUM LINES NYT INDEX RE SIT-PRIN ACTOR
Values: 1-999999 (999998 indicates an
undetermined value), corresponding with
number of lines in the New York Times Index
devoted to the principal antagonists during
the course of the incident; no labels.

Footnotes:

1. Nuclear capable forces include intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), long range strategic bombers such as the B-36 and B-52, intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) emplaced in Europe between 1959 and 1963, intermediate range strategic bombers such as the B-47 and B-58, and a number of aircraft on forward deployed aircraft carriers between 1951 and 1961 that were then included in strategic planning.
2. The terms "total unit size" and "number of" are taken to include the cumulative size or number of all of the forces of a particular type that were used in an incident, irrespective of whether they were operating together or separately. Thus, for example, if two aircraft carriers were redeployed within the Mediterranean and a third was deployed from the western to the eastern Atlantic, the value of three was scored for the variable CVNUM-NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT CARRIERS; or if a brigade of Army troops in Europe was placed on an increased level of alert and another Army brigade was redeployed from the United States to Europe, the value of four (BRIG PLS TO DIV) was scored for the variable ARmysiz-TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF ARMY GROUND FORCE.
3. A major force component is defined as one of the following: (a) a ground combat force larger than one battalion; (b) a naval force at least as large as two aircraft carrier (or battleship) task groups; (c) a land-based combat air force at least as large as one wing. A standard force component is defined as one of the following: (a) a ground force larger than one company, but not larger than one battalion; (b) one aircraft carrier (or battleship) task group; (c) a combat air force at least the size of one squadron, but less than one wing. A minor force component is defined as non-nuclear-capable forces of any type which do not meet the definition of a major or standard force component.

4. Values are scored concurrently for different movement and readiness variables. For example, if in the same incident a battalion of Marines was redeployed within the theater toward where the incident occurred and an aircraft carrier or another Marine battalion outside of the theater was placed on an increased level of alert, the value one was scored for the variables INTRAFOR - IN THEATER FORCES DEPLOY FORWARD and INTERALI-OUT OF THEATER ALERT LEVEL INCREASED.
5. Values are scored concurrently for different activities. For example, if in the same incident a naval force engaged in a special exercise, Army ground troops were transported to a foreign nation, and Air Force transport aircraft carried U.S. arms to a foreign actor, the value one was scored for the variables EXDEMO-EXERCISE OR DEMONSTRATION, GRFOEMPL-EMPLACEMENT OF GROUND FORCE, and TRTOTAR-TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT TO AN ACTOR.
6. One of two criteria had to be satisfied in order for an actor to be considered a participant in an incident: (a) it had to have been a specific target of U.S. decision-makers in the latter's use of the armed forces-- i.e., U.S. policy-makers must have desired that the actor perform or not perform a specific act or, more subtly, be impressed in a particular fashion; or (b) the actor had to play a special role in determining the outcome of the incident. Mere interest in an incident or essentially inconsequential behavior on the part of an actor was not considered enough to warrant inclusion.

PART V

Data File

The data collected for the 207 variables that were described in Part IV are presented below. These data also exist on computer tape. Information about how to acquire copies of the computer tape is presented in Part I.

Both in the pages that follow and on the computer tape, the data are distributed over four lines (cards) for each case; hence the data file for the 226 cases comprises a total of 904 lines (cards). The applicable format statement, as derived from Part IV, is as follows:

```
(2F3.0, 3F2.0, F3.0, 3F2.0,  
F3.0, 2F2.0, 19F1.0, F4.0, 23F1.0/  
F2.0, 75F1.0/59F1.0/  
3F2.0, F3.0, 3F2.0, F3.0, 3F2.0,  
F3.0, 3F2.0, F3.0, F6.0)
```

This format statement is ~~also included~~ in the computer tape control file.

For ease in using the data file as it is presented below, lines are placed between the data related to each different case, and line numbers are included at the left margin. Users may recall that the first variable on the first line (columns 1-3) for each case is the case's sequence number in the data file (variable name: CASNUM), which corresponds with the listing of cases presented in Part III.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6C100	151180	8	364	90	8	464	3	8148110040028890000000	02010010000100000000000000			
6C200	4000100000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
6C300	0011000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
6C400	741313	59	0	C	C	082	810	59	0	0	C	2212
6C500	15279	9	164	9	9	264	2	8	1514000001089000000000	04000010000000000000000000		
6C600	4100000000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									10
6C700	0000000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
6C800	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	100
6C900	153	4310	464	3510	464	35	1	55330000000000000000	05000010000000000000000000			
61000	4000000000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
61100	0100000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
61200	C	C	C	0691813	36	C	C	C	C	C	C	52
61300	154	66101564	451117	64149	6	63660000000000000000	020000	05010000000000000000	050100000000000000000000			
61400	4100001000	00000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
61500	0000000000	1000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
61600	C	C	C	0672211	11	C	C	C	07714	9	11	383
61700	15513211	164	9711	164	4	8	18110020021890000000	03000010000100000000000000				
61800	4000100000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
61900	0011000000	00000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
62000	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	2224
62100	156	67	11565	31	11565	3	61156600000000000000	05000010000100000000000000				
62200	2000000000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
62300	0000000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
62400	711514	6	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	27
62500	157184	2	665	5	2	665	2	8148110920030890000000	03000010000100000000000000			
62600	4000100000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
62700	0011000000	00000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
62800	711514	29	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	205
62900	158135	21165	19	21265	2	8148110000030890000000	03010010000100000000000000					
63000	4000100000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
63100	0011000000	00000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
63200	711514	34672211	56	C	C	C	07714	9	56	1050		
63300	159	47	42465132	42765129	1	683304420216900033200	02010010000100000000000000					
63400	4010000000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
63500	0000000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
63600	672211	2632413	167714	9	2	C	C	C	C	1750		
63700	160	46	4	165	20	41165	C	2	95660000000000000000	05000010000000000000000000		
63800	4100000000	10000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
63900	0000000000	0000000000000000000000000000	02010010000100000000000000									
64000	C	C	C	0572211	7	0	C	C	07714	9	7	4

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

PART VI

Sources of Data

No single source was able to provide all of the data pertinent to an individual incident. Data for individual variables also were typically obtained from more than one source. Thus multiple sources were used, for example, in order to obtain the data for all of the variables listed above in Part IV concerning the size, composition, movement, readiness and activities of U.S. armed forces. Sources used to obtain data for more than one variable are presented below in section "A. General Sources."

A single source was used to obtain data for a small number of variables. These sources and variables are listed below in section "B. Other Sources." Data for variables not listed in section B were obtained from those sources listed in section A.

Data were gathered by research assistants working under the supervision of the authors of the study. Judgments and interpretations about the relevance and validity of data were made jointly by the authors.

A. General Sources

U.S. Government

A large number of offices within the United States Government were contacted in the search for data. Below are the principal organizations from which documents were obtained.

The Department of the Air Force
Air University, Albert F. Simpson
Historical Research Center
(Maxwell AFB, Ala.);

The Department of the Air Force
Office of the Chief of Staff
Office of Air Force History;

The Department of the Army
Army War College
Strategic Studies Institute
(Carlisle Barracks, Pa.);

The Department of the Army
Library, John F. Kennedy School of
Counterinsurgency
(Ft. Bragg, N.C.);

The Department of the Army
Office of the Chief of
Military History
Historical Services Division;

The Department of Defense
Joint Chiefs of Staff
Joint Secretariat
Documents Division;

The Department of Defense
Office of the Comptroller
Historical Staff;

The Department of the Navy
Naval Historical Center
Naval History Division;

The Department of the Navy
U.S. Marine Corps Headquarters
Director of Marine Corps
History and Museums;

The Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Historical Office;

The National Archives
General Archives Division.

The materials obtained from these and other sources are as follows:

U.S. Congress. House Foreign Affairs Committee. Background Information on the Use of United States Armed Forces in Foreign Countries. 91 Congress, 2 session, 1970.

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MONTHBEG, DAYBEG, YEARBEG, NUMDAYS, NYTLINES; data obtained from New York Times Index (also listed above under General Sources).

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POPRAPPR to PARAFDAB (i.e., all variables in Part III, section G, except NYTLINES); data obtained from George H. Gallup, Ed., The Gallup Poll, Volumes I-III (Random House, 1972); The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 56 (February 1970), pp. 8-16, and succeeding supplements. Data obtained from these sources comprise one continuing series.